Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic 642 show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory 185 on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking.

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced 642 to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless 177 the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its 186 employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of 643 the country. Even in the Kathīri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received.

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent 601 years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration.

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Indonesia OB 1
Arabs

H 563 582 871 I 563 658 4. *Coalescence with other members of the community in the Netherlands-Indies.*—The method of living and the language among Arab families in the Netherlands-Indies and particularly in the Netherlands-Indian Arabic families, are practically the same as among the Netherlands-Indian population of corresponding kind and position. In the Hadhramaut women do not travel abroad according to the customs of their country. Arabs who wish to found a family in the Netherlands-Indies are thus obliged to look for a wife among the native population, or among the daughters of their own country-men who have been born and brought up in the Netherlands-Indies. The more well-to-do aim at sending their sons to the Hadhramaut or to the private Arabic schools existing here to complete their education. This helps to keep up their knowledge of the Arabic language and Arabic customs. The sons of those who are less well-to-do for the most part receive no Arabic education, and thus know little of their own language and customs. The establishment by the Government of the H.A.S. (Holland-Arabic School) at Sole in recent years provides an opportunity for the Arabs to give their children also a Western education.

H 798 I 798 671 5. *The part they play in the life of their adopted country.* The principal part played by the Arabs in this country in the life of the community is of a religious nature. The Hadhramis, once they have been established in the Netherlands-Indies, generally take care to moderate the fanaticism ruling their fatherland. But some of them have shown a keen proselytising spirit in their own localities. Above all the law scholars in the Arabic community have had a steadying and by no means inconsiderable influence on Islam in the Netherlands-Indies, through their teaching, their pupils and their widely distributed writings. These law scholars are consulted by their native colleagues in cases concerning Mohamedan law and several " fatwas " or expert judgments exist thanks to them.

H 167 641 ●186 I 641 6. *What proportion permanently sever their connections with the Hadhramaut.* None of the Arabs in this country who have been born in the Hadhramaut completely sever their connection with the Hadhramaut. Many of them are so attached to the land of their birth that they have only one wish and that is to spend the last days of their lives in the Hadhramaut. Some of them who have grown rich here return from time to time to the Hadhramaut to visit members of their families and for a short change. Now and then one will leave the Netherlands-Indies to establish himself once more for good in the Hadhramaut. Lately a group of Netherlands-Indian Arabs have been trying to establish connections with the native populations. These Arabs desire to consider the Netherlands-Indies as their fatherland. They will also try to adapt their

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1

H 167 12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

M 162 167

Born in Hadhramaut		*Born in Singapore.*		*Children above 10 years*
Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*say*
120	20	160	180	100

M [163] The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

H 167 463 M 162 167 563 The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

M 563 H 167 The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathīri tribes." The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,800,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

M 439 H 439 Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

M 563 H 186 Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Malaya AN1
Kenya FL1

close relations with the Hadhramaut. One Hadhramaut-born Arab, Sheikh Salim bin Muhammad Bin Talib al Kathīri, is a Justice of the Peace.

The younger generation of Singapore-born Hadhramis are said to take more interest in local social life than in business. They are more interested in merry making than in money making and do not possess much character nor love for their country of origin. Like the young Arabs in other countries they appear to have fallen victims to the easier side of modern influence, and have become Malayanised and not of much use either to the country of their origin or to that of their adoption. Amongst them of course are members of an older, pre-War generation, born in Singapore and like the old Hadhrami-born Arabs maintaining a proper loyalty to both countries. Two of these are Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Sheikh al Kaf and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman bin Juneid al Juneid, both of whom are Justices of the Peace.

CHAPTER XXV.

HADHRAMIS IN EAST AFRICA.

Kenya Colony and Protectorate.—The Kenya Non-Native Census Report for 1921 stated that Arab settlement in the country had gone on for centuries and that there was still a steady influx of Hadhramaut Arabs which was to be encouraged. " They are ", says the report, " a virile, industrious, and thrifty race, and some authorities maintain that the regeneration of the coast is dependent on their efforts." Nine hundred and twenty Arabs, or 8·7 per cent. of the Arab population of Kenya, of whom 688 were males and 232 females, returned themselves as Hadhramis, but 1,347 other gave Arabia as birthplace. It was considered safe to assume that practically all of them were from the Hadhramaut or born in Kenya. As regards their occupation the Arabs showed themselves the most independent of any non-European race, for 67 per cent. of them were working on their own account. More than half the Arab males were traders and such women as were employed were classified Industrial. Many Hadhramis were employed on *hamali* transport and as water sellers. Commenting on this the report says the two trades beloved of the Shihiri Arabs still survive in spite of the competition of the motor lorry in the former case, and in the latter of the installation of a water supply.

The District Commissioner of Mombasa states that there are today approximately 5,000 natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr in this district. There has been no change in their numbers during the past five or six years. Their principal occupations are water-carrying, coolie work, and petty trading. There is practically no trade with Hadhramaut. A number of them intermarry with other communities, and some families are permanently settled in the country. There was a time when they monopolised coolie work, but in very many cases they have been replaced by Africans.

1:Ingra.. s G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Kenya FL 1
Tanganyika FN 1

H 167 It is a pity, he says, that for some years past almost all immigrants from Hadhramaut and Shihr have not been of the type that could be said to be of any economic value to the country. Many K 167 are professional beggars and almost all are of the type that only remain in the country to earn a few shillings and then return to their country.

H 167 Particularly undesirable temporary immigrants are the "Sheriffs."[1] These people visit the country once a year and besides collecting as much money as they can from their people, they are a 457 positive danger inasmuch as they invariably foment discontent and K 167 ill-feeling between their own communities. Some settle down and live on others, doing no work themselves.

457 The families permanently settled here are loyal and law-abiding. They own property and keep their money in the country. There was a time when very good families used to immigrate to the country. The immigration of natives of Hadhramaut and Shihr dates back to the time when the Sultan of Zanzibar used to import them as soldiers guarding the Forts.

K 162 The District Commissioner of Lamu reports that the number of Hadhramis in the district is approximately 1,500. There does not 167 appear to be any increase apart from the natural internal increase which is not very large. They find employment in most walks 182 of life, particularly as cultivators and petty traders. They seem to 439 be very hard working and ambitious and undertake most work with the object of eventually owning a small shop. They have no trade H 167 with the Hadhramaut. They coalesce readily with other members of the community and share the general life of the Arab population of Lamu. They are more recent arrivals in Lamu than the other Arabs but they exercise a definite influence on the community and are gradually becoming more and more prominent in the general life and institutions of Lamu. It is estimated that over 90 per cent. of them have permanently severed their connection with the Hadhramaut.

T 162 *Tanganyika Territory.*—There are said to be at present from 2,000 to 3,000 Hadhramis living in Tanganyika. They are 167 scattered amongst the coastal towns of the Territory chiefly, and are mostly engaged in trade as small shopkeepers and sellers of H 167 dried fish, etc. A number of them intermarry with local Africans, but otherwise they do not coalesce with other members of the community.

● 186 So far as can be ascertained, only a very small proportion of H 167 186 them have permanently severed their connection with the Had-

[1] This probably refers to tithe collecting Seiyids as all the Prophet's descendants in the Hadhramaut are of the line of Hussein. It is interesting to note that they follow their flocks so far afield. I met a *mansab* of this nature in Seihut who had been to Mombasa.

hramaut, and even though they may live in the Territory for many years, they visit their own country when possible and send their children there to school. H 167 186

Zanzibar.—Writing of his visit to Zanzibar in 1857 Burton (*Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 378) says, " the poorer Arabs who flock to Zanzibar during the season are Hazramis, and they work and live hard as the Hammals of Stamboul. These men club and mess together in gangs under an Akidah (head man), who supplies them with rice, ghi and scones, and who keeps the accounts so skilfully, that the labourer receives annually about $35, though he may gain four times that sum." Z 167 464 H 167 464

Speaking of the same period Colonel Rigby, His Britannic Majesty's Consul and Honourable Company's Agent, says in his report on Zanzibar for 1860, " a considerable number of Arabs from the Hadhramaut coast also come to labour as porters and carriers, they are a patient, industrious people, and most useful to the merchants in loading and unloading ships."

This was high praise from Rigby who was critical, and contrasts in a remarkable manner with his next statement about immigrants from Sur further along the coast. " The Arabs from the coast of Omān called ' Soorees ' are also numerous; they are a troublesome, turbulent, plundering race always ready for any mischief. They are filthy, squalid, ill featured savages and arrant cowards."

Major F. B. Pearce, a late British Resident at Zanzibar, wrote in 1919 that the Hadhramis formed an important section of the Arab population of Zanzibar. " In physical appearance, pursuits and mode of life they differ somewhat from the Oman Arab. The Mshihiri[1] is a thin, spare man of medium height, without an ounce of superfluous flesh on his body. His face is long and thin and generally hairless; and those of them who have not resided sufficiently long in Zanzibar to become enervated by its softening climate and surroundings possess a marked glitter of the eye, indicative of hidden fires within, which might burst forth on little provocation. H 142 167 Z 167

" Under the normal conditions of life in Zanzibar they are hard and willing workers, keeping much to themselves, and living together in a special quarter of the town. H 167 186

" While some of the more influential and wealthier Mshihiris have made Zanzibar their permanent home, the majority come to the Sultanate for a period in order to earn money, and they then return to their own home in Arabia. When in Zanzibar they work in the port loading and unloading ships, and they are in great demand as stevedores up and down the coast. The lighter forms of labour sought for by the Mshihiri is water carrying from house to house, and they perform this work with the same assiduity and ~~tirelessness as in the heavier labour connected with ships~~.

[1] The singular of the Swahilised form of Shihiri, the plural is Washihiri.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

The affairs of the community are managed by two associations— that of the Hadhramis (Junia' al Hadhramia) and that of the Shihiris (Juania' Ahl as Sahil)—which also endeavour, as far as possible, to compose differences between individuals. The leading personalities in the associations at present are Muhsin bin Ghalib al Yafa' of the Hadhramis and Muhammad Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid of the Shihiris. Both are semi-officially recognised by Government as the heads of their community.

The clannish feeling of the Hadhrami prevents him, in Zanzibar as in other countries, from mixing with the members of the other communities any more than is necessary for the purpose of his trade or calling. He keeps much to himself and, as a rule, takes little part in local life, political, sporting or social. Even his intercourse with his cousin from Oman is restricted. The language difficulty is no doubt partly responsible in the case of those who are not permanently settled in the Protectorate, but even those who have made Zanzibar their home appear to learn the local language less readily than other foreign elements of the population, and they exhibit the same disinclination for social intercourse with their neighbours. Hardworking and thrifty, unlike their cousins from Omān, and absorbed in their own occupations, they appear to have few forms of entertainment even amongst themselves, dancing and sitting in coffee-shops being almost the sole manner in which they seek relaxation, at any rate in public.

In Zanzibar there is an increasing tendency, especially amongst the younger Arabs and Africans, to adopt European clothing. The Hadhramis, however, are little affected by the prevailing fashion, and it is rare to see one of the community attired in anything but his own national dress. As in the case of clothes, so in his manner of living; the Hadhrami, preferring his own customs, does not easily adopt the manners and ways of those around him.

The women of the Hadhramaut have always felt a striking aversion to emigrate and, as has already been noticed, it is but rarely that the Hadhrami will bring his wife or female relations to Zanzibar. Even girls who are born in Zanzibar and are taken back to their homes in Arabia seldom return to the Protectorate after attaining puberty. Few of the children born locally, therefore, are of pure stock. As a rule, marriages are not contracted in Zanzibar by those who are not settled on the islands, although liaisons of a temporary kind are frequently entered into, particularly with African women. Those who are more or less permanently settled normally marry members of their own community, but they occasionally seek brides from amongst the Muscat Arabs, the Comorians and sometimes even the Africans.

The diet of the Zanzibar Hadhramis naturally consists, as far as possible, of those articles of food to which they are accustomed in

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1
Z 563 262 H 167 186
Z 778

their own homes. It includes fresh and salted fish and shark, wheat porridge (*Shurba* and *Haris*) millet, rice, meat, dates, bread, milk, coffee, and tea.

Places of worship are normally shared by both Hadhramis and Shihiris alike, but in practice the Hadhramis mostly congregate in and largely control the Juma's and Mzaham Mosques and the Shihiris the Malindi Mnara Mosque. One burial ground is, on the other hand, used by both sections.

APPENDIX

H 439

TRADE BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND ADEN FOR THE PERIOD 1932–1934.

	Trade Imports and Direct Transhipment Total.		Domestic Exports, Re-Exports and Direct Transhipment Total.	
	Quantity.	Value. Rs.	Quantity.	Value. Rs.
Cloves ... ... cwts.	...	...	3,486	117,768
Clove Stems ... ... cwts.	...	...	44	188
Fish, dried ... ... cwts.	9,325	67,454	75	600
Fruit, fresh ... ... cwts.	...	...	2,295	8,697
Ghee ... ... lbs....	3,520	1,420	...	...
Salt ... ... lbs.	1,295,802	8,917	...	...
Tobacco, manufactured ... lbs.	...	...	125	337
Tobacco, Native ... ... lbs.	3,920	1,471	...	...
Coconuts	...	...	12,865	276
Sim Sim ... ... lbs.	...	...	156,535	9,777
Miscellaneous	...	433	...	...
Instruments, Scientific and Surgical, etc.	...	...	1	628
Cotton, manufactured	...	1,404	...	...
Silk, manufactured	...	7	...	...
Mats, etc.	...	133	...	...
Chemicals ... ... cwts.	...	...	72	6,600
Medicines	...	6	...	...
Stationery ... ... cwts.	4	341	...	...
Books	...	4	...	...
Goods, manufactured	...	66	...	50
Sugar ... ... cwts.	27	386	...	...
Food and Drinks	...	...	...	152
Coconut oil ... ... lbs....	...	...	27,313	4,584
Garlic ... ... cwts.	18	172	...	...
Iron and Steel, manufactured tons	...	...	...	428
Bags and Sacks ... ... doz.	...	...	16	80
Colour materials ... ... cwts.	2	117	...	...
		82,331		150,105

Imports	Rs.	82,331
Exports	„	150,105
Total Trade ...	Rs.	232,436

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Arab Sudan. MQ 1

AS 162 167 H 167

Port Sudan, Suakin and Tokar, with small groups at Halaib, Akik and Karora. Approximate figures are as follows :—

Port Sudan	180
Suakin	228
Tokar	294
Halaib	4
Akik	30
Karora	6
	742

AS 563 464 H 167

They fall roughly into two categories, namely the permanently settled, who have been in these parts since the old days of Suakin, and have to all intents and purposes severed their connection with Hadhramaut, and the visitors, who normally spend about three years in the Sudan between visits of about a year's duration to their homes. The division between the categories is roughly half and half. In the towns, the Hadhramis are primarily shopkeepers or shop assistants. A few work as cooks, bakers and labourers, and in Tokar Delta many have taken up cultivation. Some have become allottees of Government land, that is virtually land owners. There are 37 of these. Others, numbering about 150, work as " nusf " cultivators, that is they work another's land in return for half the profits and hope in due course to become allottees themselves.

AS 563 H 167

They do not coalesce to any noticeable degree with the local population. The settled Hadhramis principally intermarry among themselves, and show a small natural increase. The visitors occasionally intermarry with local inhabitants, principally the girls of the " Khasa ", that is the rank and file of the Beni Amer whose social status both before and after marriage is low. The majority either have wives in the Hadhramaut or are unmarried. There is a surprisingly large number of bachelors. None of the 30 residents of Akik is married. The visitors, therefore, as applications for entry to the Sudan are only granted very sparingly, show no noticeable increase. Relations with the Hadhramaut are virtually non-existent among the settled Hadhramis. The visitors, as stated, frequently visit their homes and many like to return and spend the evening of their days there. Commercial relations with the Hadhramaut are negligible if not non-existent.

H [457] 186 AS 563

The Hadhramis are an industrious and economical people and their profits, which are probably considerable, are taken out of the country[1] by those who return home. They do not use banks but hoard silver or (if they can get it) gold, and carry it out in this form. They are a quiet and law-abiding people and give little trouble to anybody. They are clannish in the extreme and never employ a native if they can find a fellow-countryman. They have a local reputation for meanness, in which respect they certainly

[1] [i.e., the Sudan -- Ed.]

H 166 AS 563

compare unfavourably with the Hedjazi and the Yemani. All are on the make, and quite prepared to start at the bottom and work up.

H 167 SA 555 426

Saudi Arabia.—Writing about the year 1885, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje (Mecca, Leiden, 1931) says that the Hadhramis in Mecca are among the most serious competitors of the Indians in the money-lending business. " These come to Mekka almost invariably without money, but endowed with great adaptability and endless endurance. No sense of honour hinders them from making their choice of trade or situation accord solely with the advantages that circumstances offer. Many have begun as heavy porters in Jeddah where the guild of porters carries on the whole traffic between town and harbour : some of these porters become rich men. In Mekka, they, in the first place, seek situations as day labourers in some trade. Thus they gain local and technical knowledge of which they as soon as possible make the most on their own account ; a 14-year old boy who has earned some 25 dollars at once puts 20 of them out at interest, and such small loans often bring in one hundred per cent. even though the time for which the money is lent is only a few months."

H 871 167

But the dubiously respectable profession of disguised money-lending was not the only occupation of Hadhramis in the Hejaz. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramaut supplied many professors and quotes as eminent amongst them the " almost dwarfish Muhammad Sa'id Ba Beseil " who acted as Amin al Fatwa to the Sheikh al Ulema. At that time the Hadhramis had " from of old " their own Sheikh who transacted business between the local government and his countrymen. Generally speaking the learned doctor gave it as his opinion that religion plays no part in the wanderlust of the Hadhramis, and other observers have made the same comment.

Emigration to the Hejaz, however, was, and no doubt is, for some, in a different category. Many students go there to study and Dr. Snouck Hurgronje says that the Hadhramis being brought up in a poor, cultureless land regard the great town of Mecca as a modern Babylon. Those who have a taste for learning derive from the holiness of Mecca blessings not to be found in the Hadhramaut. Immigrants soon adapt themselves to Meccan customs and consider the change a progress.

SA 162 167 H 167

Captain Seager estimates that there are about 5,000 Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia to-day. They live mainly in Jedda and Mecca. A few are to be found in Medina but it is doubtful whether they exceed a total of 30 souls. It would be true to say that since 1930 the Hadhramis in Saudi Arabia are decreasing in numbers. This decrease is no accident. Since the advent of the general economic depression, Hadhramis have found it more and more difficult to earn a living in Saudi Arabia. The finances of the country have been shaky for the past four years and money is naturally scarce. This has badly hit the shopkeeper class and by far the greatest

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

is your friendship and I will pay my way.' A little later on, they say, 'I would like to hang up my hat here, it won't be in your way.' Then they say, 'my coat also.'" Said another, "and then it is their trousers and then they cannot leave." A few months later when the Governor of Aden was telling a meeting in the Hadhramaut of the very generous help His Majesty's Government was offering for famine relief, an address thanking him asked for an assurance that there was not more than charity behind it. This he readily gave, but the point is that the Arabs of South Arabia know well enough what peaceful penetration has meant in the past, in such places as Zanzibar, and they fear us even when we bring gifts.

I do feel, however, that, given the right type of adviser or political officer, it is possible to improve administration, security and social services in such areas by such means as I have described, and I am quite sure that the resultant dividend of good will in the area itself and in neighbouring areas is far greater than you would get by applying the more efficient methods of direct or indirect rule.

Seeing my own successes and failures and watching those of others over the course of years has given me some ideas of what an officer working in these countries should be and do. As Arabs are individualists and will at best only treat you as an equal, a man they feel to be a leader can handle them better than another. So that personality counts for a lot, but it must not be aggressive. Tact, judgment, self-reliance and balance are indispensable, and without patience and hope many a good man might give up. But beyond these things an officer working with such people should not feel and must never show that he is a superior being to those amongst whom he works. They will expect him to have a greater knowledge of outside things than they have, for he would not be there if he had not, but he must be careful how he uses it. In social matters it is not merely a question of having no colour prejudice. Administrative officers of the Colonial Service rarely have colour prejudice in an acute form, but they generally set bounds between themselves and the people in social intercourse. The officer living amongst the Arabs cannot do this, and must be prepared for long periods at a time to live and share the life of the people while at the same time keeping his own virtue and preserving a sense of proportion. The Arabs believe as an article of faith that they are the noblest of races, and it should not be over-looked that they have a civilization and a literature of their own so that it is not for us to impose a culture on them or to build a culture for them. A kindly condescension to a less fortunate race is therefore out of place when dealing with them. They take our so-called insularity not as a peculiarity for which allowances should be made, but as a criticism of them and their manner of life. In this, of course, they are not peculiar. They call our insularity and condescension *kibr inglis*. The French in Mauritius used to call them *orgueil anglais* and they are perhaps the things above all others which make us unpopular.

Simplicity of life and manner are in many circumstances a valuable

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

official members serving as consultative representatives of the "popular will."

Senior state servants include: a Chief Medical Officer, who exercises control over the Government Hospital at Seiyun, as well as the al-Kaf Charity Hospital at Terim, and government dispensaries elsewhere in the state; a Passport Officer, charged with regulating the sizable flow of traffic in and out of the state, especially during the yearly Mecca pilgrimage; a Postmaster; Chief Accountant and Wireless and Telegraph Officer. Town Councils provide the benefits of local government in Seiyun, Terim, Hauta and fourteen other municipalities and villages throughout the state. District Commissioners administer the two chief provinces, Terim and Hauta.

The Kathiri government provides well organized public services consisting of a civil police, in addition to the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, free medical attention and a network of educational facilities embracing the Secondary School for Boys at Seiyun, the al-Kaf School for Girls at Terim and eleven lesser primary institutions with a total enrollment of three thousand. The state engages the services of a staff of forty-five teachers. Several students have studied in Syria, Egypt and Iraq through scholarships provided by the Kathiri government.

In addition to efficient internal control, the sultan lays claim, as well, to many symbols of outward sovereignty, such as the state's own postage stamps [5] and coinage,[6] a coat-of-arms, national flag and, choicest of all, a gun salute.[7]

A more sober assessment of his "independence," however, appears in the provisions of the 1918 and 1939 treaty engagements [8] entered into between the sultan's predecessors and the British government, whereby the Kathiri State is defined as being in *subordinate* political relationship with Britian in a manner simi-

[5] These issues, beautifully engraved, appeared in 1942 and 1946.

[6] In 1897 coins were ordered struck at the mint in Birmingham, England, by Al-Kaf & Co., of Singapore, for the use of their Hadhrami kinsmen in Terim.

[7] Nine guns. Only two Aden chiefs are entitled to more, Lahej and Mukalla, who are honored by eleven salvos fired from British batteries whenever these chiefs enter or leave the territory of Aden Colony.

[8] The Anglo-Kathiri treaty engagement of 1918 was merely an extension of the terms of a previous Anglo-Quaiti treaty to those parts of the Hadhramaut interior controlled by the Kathiri sultan. By terms of the Anglo-Kathiri agreement the Kathiri State was placed under British protectorate. The 1939 Adviser Agreement provided for the appointment of a British Resident Adviser to the court of the Kathiri sultan.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

lar to that of the old Non-Federated Malay States, though the sultan retains full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his own subjects. But, as in the case of the Malay rulers, the Kathiri sultan is treaty bound to accept the counsel of the British Resident Adviser in all matters save those affecting Muslim tradition or custom. Also, the state is prohibited from entering into correspondence with any foreign government or any other Aden Protectorate state without approval of the British government. In return for these pledges, Great Britain has undertaken full responsibility for the defense of the state and for the maintenance of the sultan's paramountcy over his own tribes.

That both internal and external characteristics of the Kathiri State should borrow heavily from existing institutions in Malaya is not surprising, since for many generations extensive social and commercial ties have bound these two widely separated regions

TABLE OF STATISTICS, STATES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE

State	Title of ruler	Population	Area in sq. miles	Annual revenue	Police	Salute
Qu'aiti (Mukalla) ..	H.H. the Sultan of	197,000	30,000	Rs 27,50,078	Unlisted	11 guns
Kathiri (Seiyun) ...	Sultan of	60,000	6,000	Rs 4,80,000	Unlisted	9 guns
Wahidi (Balhaf)	Sultan of	25,000	5,000	Rs 1,02,448	Unlisted	None
Mahri (Socotra & Qishn)	Sultan of	22,000	13,000	Unlisted	Unlisted	9 guns
Haura	Shaykh of	300	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
'Irqa	Shaykh of	350	Unlisted	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Abdali (Lahej)	H.H. the Sultan of	41,400	4,500	Unlisted	380	11 guns
Fadhli (Shuqra)	Sultan of	25,000	2,500	Rs 4,17,697	120	9 guns
Amiri (Dhala)	Amir of	27,000	1,050	Rs 1,50,000	75	9 guns
Lower Yafa'i (Al Qara)	Sultan of	23,000	700	Rs 1,65,000	30	9 guns
Upper Yafa'i (Mahjaba)	Sultan of	89,000	900	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Lower 'Aulaqi (Ahwar)	Sultan of	12,000	2,500	Rs 49,000	40	None
Upper 'Aulaqi (Nisab)	Sultan of	55,000	1,800	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Beihan (Beihan Qasb)	Amir of	13,000	4,000	Unlisted	40	None
Audhali (Lodar)	Sultan of	10,000	1,000	Unlisted	30	None
Haushabi (Museimir)	Sultan of	10,000	350	Unlisted	29	None
Alawi (Al Qasb'a) ..	Shaykh of	1,200	19	Unlisted	Unlisted	None
Aqrabi (Bir Ahmed).	Shaykh of	2,000	101	Unlisted	Unlisted	None

Area & population figures from: *Columbia Lippincott Gazeteer of the World*, 1952.
Revenue & police figures from: *Aden Colonial Report*, 1949 & 1950.
Data on gun salutes from: W. H. Ingrams in conversation with the author.

Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

Emigration and Immigration

Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley, were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

7: Sturler-Raemaekers T-3 (1950-51) 1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Some miles out of Aden a sultan recently killed two of his cousins because of some rivalry between them, and not more than fifteen years ago there were cases of open piracy at Balhaf. Such incidents will illustrate that it is not easy country to travel through or to subjugate, isolated as it is behind roadless mountains and plateaux. There are some 500 miles of this barren, rough country, where the people are fiercely independent and distrustful of outsiders. It was long impossible to travel right across it, and it has been done by only very few people, chiefly by the Dutch explorer Van der Meulen, who has crossed it three times.

Considering the geography it is not surprising that modern civilization, and particularly European civilization, has never penetrated the interior of this peninsula. In such outcrops of continents as this all civilization seems to come and go very slowly, and so does life itself. The Indo-European civilization, which started in the Fertile Crescent before the time of Ur of the Chaldeans, has only very slowly percolated down to this outcrop of Asia, as it did in the peninsulas of India and Malaya; once there, it remained static and almost intact for 4,000 years. When one goes to Hadhramaut now one can almost imagine living in the time of Abraham of Ur and the Chaldeans.

The Hadhramis themselves trace back their ancestry and history to Noah, from whom they descend through Sem and his grandson Ad, who is their legendary father of the giant race, and from whom in turn descends *Hathermaveth*, whose name means "Death is Present" and became "Hadhramaut." This shows that in those far-off days the Arabs of Southern Arabia were hardly less bellicose than they were until the British came to Hadhramaut in 1934, when Mr. Ingrams started negotiating cessation of wars and blood feuds.

Hadhramaut, we know then, lies 400 miles from Aden eastwards along a roadless coast, across merciless basalt mountains, quicksand, dunes and deserted beaches—400 miles of sand and rock and ragged cliffs, with only five unknown bedouin fishing hamlets en route. Going along this coast—be it by plane, dhow or, at last, since 1951 by pioneer desert trucks—one can hardly believe that any form of life is possible inside or behind these torrid treeless wastes. For behind these coastal ranges, to the north, we know it is the great desert that covers all Southern Arabia, the Empty Quarter, which has but four or five oases along the 600- or 700-mile camel route that crosses it. Neither from north nor south is there seemingly any life vein, nor from east nor west. Yet it is here that we shall find the valley of Hadhramaut.

Like the hidden valley of Petra, Hadhramaut has remained secluded throughout the centuries, but with this difference: the valley of Hadhramaut is not dead.

When one has braved the 400 miles of desolation eastward from Aden, one suddenly comes upon a great scintillating white harbour; a crescent moon wedged between an azure bay and blistering pink rocks. This is Mukalla, the beautiful white-and-blue port, the cup of its harbour filled with many little native craft and sailing dhows. Behind the town there seems nothing but endless waste tableland with one or two poor bedouin hamlets—the Jol, rising to 6,000 feet and stretching 150 miles inland. But

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Aden MM1
Yemen ML1

Conclusion

If Aden were to exert itself to become the cultural capital of the area of which it is the centre, it could attract all that is best in that area to it, and they could take back the best that British culture could offer them. For in Aden, if anywhere, is the chance for Arab culture and British culture to mix on equal terms and to produce something worth while.

I think it is apparent from what we have seen of South-West Arabia that British culture and Western education alone are not going to make a strong appeal to the principal elements in the country, and in many ways it would be dangerous to give too much of it undiluted. It is by no means clear how many people with a Western education the W.A.P. is going to be able to absorb, and discontented educated people unsuitably employed can very well create trouble and discontent by no means divine. The Yemen is afraid of too much Western education and a Zeidi Government will do all it can to discourage it.

Taking the country as a whole, there are first of all the very fertile highlands of the Yemen, where almost any temperate crop could be grown; lower down are the mountains of the 4,000- to 6,000-foot level, mostly barren but with good cultivable areas; and then there is the huge area of desert mountain and coastal plain with only occasional oases. The Yemeni highlands are the preserve of the Zeidis, a most exclusive people. The rest of the country is mostly populated by settled and nomadic tribesmen of Shafi'i persuasion, with here and there in the Yemen and the Hadhramaut large towns with an urban population and commercial or cultural interests. About a fifth of the population of the Hadhramaut are seiyids. The whole of this area, whether independent Yemen or protected chiefdoms, is independent minded and places Islamic culture far above any other, and we for our part have no desire to threaten its independence or its culture.

The academies of the Yemen and Hadhramaut are poorly endowed, but they are always full with students, who live on a starvation diet in order to get their education. As another pointer to the demand for Arab culture, look at the three bookshops of Aden. In them it is possible to buy most of the great Arab classics of the Abbasid period and Arab Spain. All the shopkeepers tell me they find their best buyers among up-country visitors; the young men of Aden buy, when they buy anything, modern books and translations of novels from the Cairo presses.

If we provided Western education only, it would in the end attract people to it, but the risks of doing this are considerable. Has Western education been an unqualified success elsewhere in the East? There is no space to discuss this much-discussed question here, but I think on the whole it is safe to say that there are a good many who would agree that there are aspects of what we have done which are open to criticism and that the results of it all have not on the whole been too happy.

Considering, therefore, what was achieved by the culture centres of old, such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Damascus, and that the south has never had a cultural centre to compare with them, and considering that there is much we can offer of our own culture which need not be destructive of Arab

A JOURNEY IN HADRAMAUT

This article, originally printed by the Royal Geographical Society of the Netherlands, has been translated from the Dutch.—*Ed.*

101 Hadramaut is a part of Arabia about which very little is yet known. It was celebrated in antiquity as the land of frankincense and myrrh, and the great trade route from India to the ports of South Arabia and thence through Hadramaut, Yemen and Nejran to Egypt and Syria, brought prosperity and culture. Lying on the border of the Sabæan and Minæan kingdoms, Hadramaut appears to have adopted many of their civilizing elements, and yet to have maintained its own independence. After the decline of the Sabæan kingdom and the civilization which flourished there, Hadramaut also sank into poverty and ignorance. In this respect Islam appears to have brought but little change. After the destruction of 167 the irrigation works, the poverty became terrible, and 735 the country was scarcely able to provide a meagre subsistence even for a very small population. Even centuries ago this led the most enterprising of the men to seek for themselves a better livelihood in foreign lands. 167 The men of Hadramaut wandered off to the east coast 186 of Africa, to the countries around the Red Sea as far as Egypt, to British India and to the Dutch East Indies. Their women never went with them, and the men remained firmly attached to their poor, dry and intensely hot native land. In foreign lands the people of Hadramaut have preserved their own characteristics up to the present day, and have never become assimilated to the peoples among whom they lived, endeavoring to return at some time to their native land, and sending their male children to Hadramaut for their education, if they could

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

afford to do so. It is difficult to understand what it is that binds them so firmly to their poor, monotonous and scorching rocks and deserts. Their fanatical Mohammedanism is certainly an important factor, but so is also their love for their ill-favored country, and the intuitive perception that the preservation of their group and of its characteristic attributes is closely connected with the hard, frugal and primitive ways of living in their native land.

In those regions to which the people of Hadramaut emigrate they usually have a much larger part in the economic life of the people than their numbers would justify. This is particularly the case in the Dutch East Indies, where they have an increasingly important place as business men and as owners of land and houses, as well as being students of religion and promoters of orthodox Islam.

It was very natural that about the year 1880 the government of the Netherlands Indies recommended the agent for Arabian and Mohammedan affairs to make a special study of Hadramaut and of the people who had come from that part of Arabia to the East Indies. The book written by this officer, Dr. L. W. C. van den Berg, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien," was published in 1886 at government expense. This year the Department for Foreign Affairs urged its representative at Jeddah to attempt a journey in Hadramaut for a diplomatic and economic survey. This preliminary report is the result of that request.

Dr. van den Berg wrote his book in Batavia, and never went to Hadramaut, but he got his information with the help of intelligent men from Hadramaut with whom he had intimate connections. He even made a sketch-map of the country, which was printed with his book, and for this the information these men supplied was of course indispensable. This sketch-map of course had many defects, but Hadramaut has been visited so little by scientific explorers that even this year van den

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

663 fence round the country and then to leave it to anarchy. On the other hand, there was no wish to introduce direct British rule over a people who are tenaciously attached to their independence. Our policy is therefore to support the treaty chiefs and to lead them and their subjects to appreciate the advantages of the suppression of lawlessness and the maintenance, in collaboration with the British Government, of internal peace and security. At the same time it was laid down as a general principle that the main trade routes through the Protectorate must be kept safe, and that the Government would enforce this decision.

The medium through which this policy was to be carried into effect was a number of political officers centred on Aden, but working in the Protectorate, and I, as Governor at the time, was fortunate in the appointment by the Colonial Office of a group of young men who threw themselves wholeheartedly and devotedly into the work of gaining the confidence and friendship of the Arab tribes and their chiefs, and in promoting the policy upon which the Government had embarked.

712 This work would not have been possible without the collaboration of the Royal Air Force. Aden had become an Air Command in 1928, and the first action of the strengthened Air Force was the ejection of the Yemenis from Dhala, to which I have already referred. This was followed by the construction of landing-grounds. There are now between thirty and forty of these in various parts of the Protectorate, including the Hadhramaut Valley, which had until lately been almost a *terra incognita* except to a few adventurous travellers. Flights by the Royal Air Force over the Hadhramaut were followed by invitations from the local Arabs to land, and the pioneer work of two young Air Force officers, Cochrane and Rickards, led to the establishment of closer contact. The first visit of a Resident of Aden to this strange and most interesting district was paid by myself in the early part of 1933.

556 I have already referred to this remarkable valley of the Hadhramaut,
167 and readers of Miss Freya Stark's delightful and graphic descriptions of her travels in Southern Arabia will be familiar with its peculiar characteristics. Its wealthy seyyids and merchants have generally amassed their fortunes in Java or Singapore, to which countries the Hadhramis emigrate in large numbers, and in which many of them are
[186] owners of valuable house property. They do not, however, lose their
342 love for their original home in Arabia, and many of them eventually return to the Hadhramaut, and there build for themselves the luxurious

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
ADEN MM1

long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

come they are united with us in a common rejoicing. That is the kind of recompense that gladdens the hearts of those who have worked for these people and have striven to make British protection a real benefit to them. It encourages our belief that our pioneer work in this country has been undertaken on the right lines, and that we may hope to add another success to those that have been achieved by our predecessors and contemporaries in other parts of the Empire. A great deal remains to be done in the Aden Protectorate, but with patience and perseverance and with the right principles to guide us we may be confident that it will be accomplished.

Colonel Tod: I do not know whether you would like to hear anything of the earlier history of the Protectorate, but the time I spent in the Aden Protectorate was before even Sir Bernard Reilly's time, forty years ago, when I was a member of the Anglo-Turkish Mandate Commission. At that time the Protectorate consisted of only nine tribes. Since then it has been considerably extended. Hadhramaut was a *terra incognita* in those days and was certainly not part of the Protectorate.

I think the Sultan of Lahej owes his preponderance chiefly to the fact that all roads from the interior lead through his capital, of which he has taken advantage at different times.

You mentioned the incursion of the Turks in 1915. That was by no means their first incursion into the Protectorate. When they reconquered the Yemen in about 1870 they gradually pushed their rule south until they penetrated many miles into the British Protectorate. When the British Commission went up there in 1901, intending to open friendly relations with the Turks about the demarcation of the frontier, they found the Turks had brought down a considerable force, had taken military possession of that part of the Protectorate, only just leaving the town of Dhala itself outside the militarily occupied area, and had seized the heads of the passes that led down to Aden; so the position of the Commission was a most difficult one. The Turks simply put their foot down and said, "J'y suis, j'y reste," and we had no power to turn them out. There was just an insignificant escort of Indian troops with the Commission. It took a very long time indeed to persuade the home Government that they must intervene with force, and it was only when a force stronger than the Turkish force was sent up there in 1902 that the Turks were compelled to withdraw. That means that Dhala was occupied by the Turks for about thirty years. It

no poll tax is paid by the population as is the 651
case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is 643
levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeᶜēṭīs are the source of their 643
power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeᶜēṭī consist, in peace time, of 701
5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn 162
and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ᶜAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we 186
had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*. 435

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

about the land outside their own small territory. The Sultan knows neither Sēwūn nor Terīm; Hadjarēn was recognized by none of those present.

On this same day, before proceeding further, we return to Shibām to have a good look over this wonderful city. The streets form narrow, dark tunnels between high, grey houses built in rows. In the middle of the street there is a drain of masonry into which runs the dirty water from the houses, which splashes down into the street from many gutters made of the trunks of date-palms. Cats, donkeys and chickens are doing themselves well on the reeking brew. We are obliged to look upwards constantly to see whether an evil-smelling rain is not beginning to spatter down from one of the gutters. The houses are five or six storeys high; only the top storey is whitewashed and that cannot be seen from the street. The mosques stand in the open spaces and look indeed like toys made of sugar amongst the many tall, gloomy houses surrounding them. In the bazaar streets is a great crowd of buyers and sellers. These latter have either miniature shops or booths on the streets. The doors and windows in the houses of the rich are of magnificently carved wood. The keyhole for the huge wooden keys, which with their many wooden pegs look like brushes, is close to the door, about 4½ feet from the ground, and is usually shut off by a little shutter, neatly decorated. The dim obscurity, the stifling heat and the extremely foul streets offer, of course, good conditions of existence for flies, mosquitoes and other spreaders of disease germs.

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often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

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helped by the motor-car in his great work of pacifying and opening up Ḥaḍramaut.

We depart in two fine cars belonging to the Sultan of Sēwūn for Terīm, the city to which Leo Hirsch has preceded us and from which nearly forty years ago the sayyids with their fanaticism and hatred of Christianity forced him to flee within a few hours of his arrival. An Englishman, Mr. Boscawen, reached there also a full year in advance of us, but he did not publish a description of his journey and, according to report, only came for sport. Aeroplanes of the R. A. F. at Aden, with Colonels Cochrane and Lake and Flight-Lieutenant Rickards on board, also once flew high above the town, but they were only making an aerial reconnaissance, although the scouts themselves felt a growing desire within them to set foot for once in this wonderful town. The Ḥaḍramīs say of it: "Terīm — and then thou desirest nothing else."

The cars take us through winding mud lanes between palm-groves to the hilly stretch of sand and loam outside the town. The palm-trees are planted well apart from each other in the sand; the fields of *dhura* come to an end but the little dykes of the area that can only be cultivated when the rains are sufficient are to be seen for long afterwards. Quite soon we pass the ruins of a town, Maryama, probably of great antiquity. The castle and the town were laid waste in a local war, and, of the cultivation of the land, only the little dykes, which divided the fields into squares, still remain. Close to Maryama there was an old road which crossed southwards over the mountain-wall. My companion climbed this *ʿaqaba* called Duqm el-Aswad and found on the rock-wall close to the *djōl* scrollings and grafitti probably made, many centuries ago, by the Bedouins of passing caravans. Some distance further on the villages and palm-groves at the foot of the southern mountain-wall come to an end. The loam vanishes under an ever thicker layer of sand and sand-dunes, and the cars stall several times. In accordance with the instructions of the Sultan we do not go by the normal way, through the plain, to Terīm, but follow

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when the gate is pushed open and a group of soldiers rush out with their guns at the attack. Our people are petrified with fright and call out that we belong to the *Dōla* (the Government). Then the guns drop and the sound of a greeting reaches us, but our chauffeurs drive on as fast as possible, so as to escape from this hostile place.

We now enter the district belonging to the third party, with el-ᶜUqda as its headquarters, where the rich Shēkh Sālim bin Djaᶜfar bin Ṭālib lives. We are to pay a call upon him. He gave us a pressing invitation to do so on the outward journey, but, at that time, the Sultan of Shibām, who had undertaken our transport arrangements, gave orders to avoid the war zone. Shēkh Sālim is a Dutch subject; he possesses a great fortune, amassed in Surabaya, and was one of the well-known Ḥaḍramīs of that city.

The country round el-ᶜUqda is a paradise of beauty. White and light-grey palaces, with rows of big windows and fine points and pinnacles along the edges of the roofs, are scattered among the plantations of young palm-trees. Behind this gay green and white colouring is the yellowish-brown of the rock. In the gardens are also many bushes of lemon and pomegranate and papayas. The buildings in which Shēkh Sālim lives are surrounded by a high wall, with a colossal wooden gate covered with sheet iron, which gives entrance to a courtyard. The outposts here have done their duty and given notive of our arrival, and the gate has been thrown wide open and Shēkh Sālim himself, surrounded by soldiers and children, stands there to give us welcome. The pro-Dutch sentiments of the grey-headed Shēkh are well known, and we have no need to doubt for one moment that our welcome here comes from the heart. Conversation is carried on in the Malay language, in compliment to the presence of a government official of Netherlands India. This creates an intimate atmosphere and offers the advantage that the soldiers and children cannot follow what is said. The great *madjlis* of this imposing building becomes speedily filled with a crowd of inter-

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493 in the saddle, for the camel sees obstacles on the ground, which escape my searching eye, so that unexpected swerves are the result. It is a fantastic and most exhausting ride, which only comes to an end when, close to the little town of ᶜAmd, we reach the house in which we are to be lodged. The rest of the caravan arrives after us in dribblets, and before long we are sitting together on the spacious roof of our guest-house, onto which crowds of inquisitive folk are flocking.

511 167 191 ●186 Nowhere, so far, had so much Malay been spoken and nowhere was conversation so frank and open. ᶜAmd appears to be a town on the decline and very poor and to suffer much from protracted warfare. This condition of things leads the young men to seek their fortunes out of the country, Java attracting the bulk of them. The consequence is that a great many wives and children remain behind in poverty. The number of boys who are sent from Java to be brought up in ᶜAmd is relatively large. They can be distinguished at once from among their dirty little comrades by their better dress and greater cleanliness. They form a part of our visitors that night and begin with great boldness to talk in Malay, to show off their knowledge. These youngsters look upon their sojourn in ᶜAmd as a real period of exile and pine for Java.

000 The discussions over plans for our further journey were disappointing. It was considered to be out of the question for us to go to Niṣāb, but they could certainly bring us to the coast towns of Bal-Ḥāf or Bīr ᶜAlī. Everyone deserted us at this point, even our own Sayyid ᶜAlī el-ᶜAṭṭās, but we held on to Niṣāb. Before we retired to a roof-terrace higher up, we had Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf's letter of introduction and those from the Sultans of Sēwūn and Shibām read aloud, which made a noticeable impression. I added thereto that we were determined to go to Niṣāb and that we wished to leave on the morrow. So we bade farewell to this company, which was to carry on its consultations until deep into the night.

132 It is appreciably cooler at ᶜAmd than it is further in Ḥaḍramaut, Terīm being the hottest place. The altitude of

CHAPTER XVII.

WĀDĪ ḤADJR — A BIT OF ARABIA FELIX.

1. ṢIDĀRA, ITS CHIEF SETTLEMENT.

361 Ṣidāra gave us the impression of being dirty, yet fairly
131 prosperous. The stone houses are scattered wide apart; they
621 have generally two storeys and are built square and strong so as to hold their own in case of hostilities. Ṣidāra is independent; the farthest frontier post of the Qeᶜēṭī Government is a good two hours' march south-east. Much fighting has been carried on for the possession of this very fertile Wādī Ḥadjr, and in the days which followed we saw many traces of this strife.

609 Here we stood at last in front of the house of the village-
● 186 chief, wondering how we were to be received. A roof-terrace was rapidly prepared for us and, after that, the master of the house came to bid us welcome and invite us to enter. We recall him gratefully to mind, for we owe it to him that the people left us more or less in peace, although here again they did not exactly sympathize with foreigners. Our host had performed the *ḥadjdj* and had brought back with him two very favourable recollections of Europeans: when passing through Aden he had become acquainted with the Mission Hospital at Shēkh ᶜUthmān and spoke with great respect of the Mission doctor whom he had met there; and then again, in the Holy Land itself he had met a Dutchman who had become a Muḥammadan; after the *ḥadjdj* was over he had seen the latter again in Djedda and had been treated by him as if he were his own brother. I told him that the Dutchman at Djedda was a good friend of mine, and with that we were in friendly touch at once.

000 The roof-terrace was soon full of people and hand-shaking and questions began as usual. The youth of the village was

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